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# Transparency and Embodied Action: Turn Organization and Fairness in Complex Institutional Environments

Christian Heath<sup>1</sup> and Lorenza Mondada<sup>2</sup>

## Abstract

*Institutional settings in which large numbers of participants have the right and in some cases the responsibility to contribute to the proceedings pose particular challenges to the order and allocation of turns. These challenges are organizational, how to enable and order participation between large numbers of people, as well as moral and political—the fair, transparent, and even distribution of access to the floor. In this paper, we address two very different institutional settings—one political and the other economic—and consider how participants are provided opportunities to contribute to the proceedings in a fair and transparent manner. Drawing on ethnomethodology and conversation analysis, we examine the systematic management of turn allocation and demonstrate how multimodality is critical to understanding how particular institutions achieve their principal aims and outcomes. This study is based on the analysis of a substantial corpus of video recordings of public consultations concerned with the discussion of major public and private sector initiatives and auctions of fine art and antiques.*

## Keywords

auctions, multimodality, public consultations, social interaction, turn-taking

The presence of “turns” suggests an economy, with turns for something being valued, and with means of allocating their relative distribution, as they do in economies.

- Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson  
1974:696

raises crucial issues regarding participation and the opportunity to contribute to a proceeding. They pose problems that are both *organizational*—how to enable and order participation between dozens, if not hundreds of people—as

Institutional settings in which large numbers of people gather together and have the right and in some cases the responsibility to contribute to the proceedings pose particular challenges to the organization of social interaction. The presence of large numbers of people

<sup>1</sup>King's College London, London, UK

<sup>2</sup>University of Basel, Basel, Switzerland

## Corresponding Author:

Christian Heath, King's Business School, King's College London, Bush House, 30 Aldwych, London, WC2B 4BG, UK.

Email: christian.heath@kcl.ac.uk

well as *moral and political*—the fair, transparent, and even distribution of access to the floor. These challenges arise within a wide variety of contemporary social institutions in areas that include health care, business, law, education, as well as local and national politics. They pose particular problems in circumstances in which the institution has the formal responsibility to produce an effective and in some cases highly consequential outcome that derives from and should be seen to derive from the fair and transparent contribution of any willing and able participant. These matters have been of long-standing concern to social psychology and a number of other disciplines within the social sciences and generated a substantial corpus of research concerned with such matters as group dynamics, control, and leadership within meetings and other social gatherings (see e.g., Bales 1950; Baron and Kerr 2003; Gastil 2009; Gillette and McCollom 1990; Goffman 1971).

In this article, we address these matters from a rather different standpoint. Drawing on ethnomethodology and conversation analysis, we examine the social and interactional organization of two distinctive institutional environments to consider how participation is managed to establish fair and orderly proceedings and enable legitimate outcomes. The two institutional environments frequently involve substantial numbers of potential participants, many of whom contribute to the proceedings and their outcomes, be they economic (Bunker and Alban 2006; Cassady 1967) or political (Abbott 1996; Healey 1997; Laclau and Mouffe 1985). The institutional environments in question are auctions, in particular, auctions of fine art and antiques, and public consultations in which citizens are provided with the opportunity to discuss and debate significant public and private sector initiatives. Despite their

differences, these two forms of public and semi-public gatherings address and resolve a number of common problems and issues, not least of which are matters of order, participation, and legitimacy. They rely on comparable practices and resources with which to manage the potential contributions of numerous participants in a fair and transparent fashion while preserving a single focus of mutual attention or “shared current orientation” (Goffman 1964:135).

The organization of turns and turn-taking is a fundamental dimension of the social and interactional order of informal encounters as well as institutional activities (Goffman 1964, 1971). Sacks et al. (1974:729) suggest:

The use of a turn-taking system to preserve one party talking at a time while speak change recurs for interactions in which talk is organizationally involved is not at all unique to conversation. It is massively present for ceremonies, debates, meetings, press conferences, seminars, therapy sessions, interviews, trials and so on. All of these differ from conversation (and from each other) on a range of other turn-taking parameters and in the organization by which they achieve the set of parameter values they organize the presence of.

The turn-taking system for conversation described by Sacks et al. (1974) has provided an important methodological and analytic resource for the investigation of talk and interaction in institutional environments. It has created a template with which to consider the distinctive forms of participation that enable the concerted production of specialized activities, to explore how “institutional realities and their unique characteristics to be talked into being” (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991:95). In this regard, we have witnessed the

emergence of a burgeoning corpus of studies that address the ways in which institutional activities and encounters are accomplished in and through specialized forms of turn construction and turn organization. For instance, studies address the characteristic organization of talk and turn-taking in settings that include medical consultations, business meetings, courts of law, psychiatric interviews, and political debates (see e.g., Atkinson and Drew 1979; Boden 1994; Clayman and Heritage 2002; Heritage and Maynard 2006; Maynard 2003). For these settings, several modes of organization have been described that constitute specific “turn-taking systems.” As Heritage and Clayman (2010:37) suggest, “the opportunities to initiate actions, what actions can be intended to mean, and how they will be interpreted can all be significantly shaped by distinctive turn taking systems.” Specific systems provide rights and obligations to speak and act, distinctively shaping the possible adequate contributions to a specific institutional activity.

Many of the activities that have provided the focus of research of specialized forms of turn and interactional organization involve small numbers of participants, often no more than two or three people. There is, however, a growing corpus of research concerned with turn organization and its management within larger gatherings. This includes studies of institutional environments where the participation of all but a small number of individuals is limited to collective and choral actions such as applause or laughter (Atkinson 1984; Clayman 1993). We have also seen a growing interest in the analysis of institutional environments in which turn allocation and organization relies on a chairman, mediator, or animator who has the right and responsibility to select the participants to speak (Heritage and Clayman 2010). In this regard, two

settings have received particular attention, namely, classrooms (see e.g., Lerner 1995; McHoul 1978) and business or professional meetings (Boden 1994; Ford 2008; Mondada 2012; Pomerantz and Denvir 2007). Notwithstanding the substantial contribution of these and other studies to our understanding of participation in multiparty settings, previous research has primarily focused on the organization of talk rather than embodied or multimodal interaction.

There are a number of important exceptions, studies that have begun to address the ways in which visible as well as spoken conduct is critical to the production and coordination of action in multiparty institutional environments. Putting to one side research concerned with the more fragmented and contingent forms of co-participation we find in certain complex work environments such as control centers, trading rooms, and operating theatres (see e.g., Goodwin and Goodwin 1996; Heath and Luff 2000; Suchman 1996), classroom and educational settings have proved of particular interest. For example, it was generally assumed that teachers distributed and managed opportunities to speak in the classroom, but studies have demonstrated how the embodied conduct of pupils and students is critical to who, among many, are chosen to contribute to the proceedings (Fazel and Berger 2015; Kántää 2012; Mortensen 2008). Moreover, analysis of the ways in which pupils and students use gesture and other forms of bodily comportment to seek and indeed secure turns at talk has raised important issues concerning sequence, projection, and the contingent organization of participation in the classroom (Mondada 2009; Mortensen 2008; Sahlström 2002).

In this study, we draw on the burgeoning interest in talk and interaction in institutional environments to explore the turn organization of two complex,

multiparty environments that encourage and rely on the contingent and largely unpredictable contributions of numerous individuals. There are two aspects of the order and interaction in these settings that are of particular interest. First and foremost, despite significant differences, the two settings provide institutional solutions to particular social problems or issues, on the one hand, the valuation and exchange of goods and on the other, community participation in important local initiatives. In both cases, the legitimacy and integrity of the outcomes of the events, be they economic transactions or policy recommendations, rest on the open and transparent participation of willing and able members of the public, be they potential buyers or citizens (see e.g., Abbott 1996; Harvey and Meisel 2006; Healey 1997; Klemperer 2004). The moral imperatives that underpin and legitimize these forms of institutional environment rely on and are accomplished in and through particular forms of turn organization that manage the contingent contributions of numerous members of the public. In a sense, therefore, both public consultations and auctions are events that are done and, critically, must be seen to be done in an open, orderly, and transparent fashion.

Second, notwithstanding the growing corpus of research that addresses multimodal organization of social interaction in the workplace and institutional environments (see e.g., Goodwin 2017; Heath and Luff 2000; Llewellyn and Hindmarsh 2010; Mondada 2011; Streeck, Goodwin, and LeBaron 2011), there remains relatively little research that addresses how visible conduct features in turn production and coordination in large-scale, multiparty environments, environments in which unfamiliar and anonymous individuals gather together to attend and, where possible, contribute to the proceedings. Indeed, embodied conduct, including

gesture and visual orientation as well as talk, is critical to these proceedings. It enables participants to claim or seek to claim the floor and informs the ways in which opportunities to contribute to the proceedings are systematically and transparently allocated to particular individuals. It also resolves matters of competition, overlap, and the fragmentation of involvement.

The analysis of the interplay of the organizational and normative aspects of turn-taking systems remains a relatively neglected topic in research on language use and social interaction—although it is central to how particular institutions are able to resolve particular social problems or issues. Focusing on these different settings offers the opportunity to explore how particular forms of social interaction and turn organization provide an institutional solution to distinct social problems. Despite their differences, the legitimacy of these institutions and their outcomes rests on the principle and practice that all members of the public have a fair and equal opportunity to participate in and contribute to the events where no particular individual or group is shown preferential treatment.

By exploring the practices in and through which contributions are systematically produced and ordered, we seek to contribute to an understanding of how complex forms of focused interaction in gatherings that can include tens, if not hundreds, of participants are accomplished in and through embodied conduct and interaction.

### **THE INSTITUTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SETTINGS: DATA AND METHOD**

Both public consultations and auctions frequently involve substantial numbers of participants, all of whom may have an interest in contributing at some stage

during the proceedings. Public consultations are part of a democratic participatory process in which citizens and inhabitants of a city district are provided with the opportunity to discuss local urban planning issues with experts, local politicians, and members of the planning team (Mondada, 2013, Mondada, Svensson, van Schepen, 2017). In contrast, auctions, in this case, auctions of fine art and antiques, are a long established social institution that enables the valuation and exchange of goods of uncertain value. They provide a forum that enables interested and willing parties to directly compete with others to purchase goods. In the most common type of auction, undertaken in the Roman or English manner, the price of goods or “lots” rise in response to bids, with the potential buyer willing to pay the highest price to secure the merchandise in question (Heath 2013). Participants primarily consist of members of the art and antiques trade but also private buyers and investors. Auctions deal with goods of very different values, ranging from a few dollars to many millions, and are the principal vehicle through which works of art are both valued and exchanged. Prices achieved for works of art at auction, in contrast to retail or gallery prices, are treated as an index of their current value and form the basis to market analyses, investment strategies, and the like. The legitimacy of auctions and the values they establish rest on the orderly and transparent manner in which interested parties openly and visibly compete to purchase goods (see Cassady 1967; Heath 2013; Klemperer 2004).

In both cases, our data primarily consist of a substantial corpus of audio-visual recordings of naturally occurring events. Recording involved the use of multiple cameras augmented by field observation. For public consultations, data were collected in France between 2008 and 2014 within a single long-term procedure of

participatory democracy in urban planning. Through the years, public meetings were held, involving citizens to contribute with proposals and ideas to the transformation of a military site into a public park. In this paper, a subset of meetings has been considered, namely, all public plenary sessions (seven in total) that were held during five years within this participatory consultation. All deal with the planning of the future park: first, the leading urban concepts and criteria are discussed; next, their implementation during the actual construction work is monitored and elaborated on. For auctions, data were collected over a period of six or seven years. Data include video recordings of both high-value sales at international auction houses as well as lower value auctions dealing with more general art, antiques, and objet d’art. Data were collected in the United Kingdom, North America, and mainland Europe. To preserve the anonymity of the participants, we largely use drawings based on the original images taken from the video recordings.

The collection of naturalistic data in large-scale public gatherings, in particular for observational data, has long posed a significant challenge for social science research. Video-based field studies are no exception. Even with the use of multiple cameras and numerous microphones, it can prove difficult to record the action of all participants within the setting in a clear and accessible manner. These types of settings also raise analytic challenges. It can prove highly demanding to provide rigorous demonstration of the relationship between the conduct of two participants, among numerous participants, who may be located at different regions of the setting. Moreover, the transcription of the embodied conduct and talk of substantial numbers of individuals raises a significant challenge and yet is critical to detailed analysis of such events.

One suspects the relative absence of detailed studies of multimodal interaction in large gatherings derives in part from the methodological and analytic difficulties posed in dealing with these highly complex forms of variable participation.

### INVITING CONTRIBUTIONS: CREATING OPPORTUNITIES TO PARTICIPATE

During public consultations, the facilitator or chair is primarily responsible for managing the overall structure and flow of the proceedings. Experts and political representatives may be required to speak on particular matters and provide certain information, but in many cases, the principal purpose of such meetings is to enable members of the public and the community to voice their opinions and concerns on significant initiatives or proposals.

Consider the first fragment (Fragment 1). Following a lengthy contribution by one of the official representatives about the current advances of the urban planning project the citizens are invited to contribute to, the facilitator (FAC) seeks contributions from the floor, creating an opportunity for members of the public to speak and providing an instruction for how they should participate.

The exchange arises more than an hour after the beginning of the meeting. A number of politicians have spoken, and a film of the proposed development site has been shown. A public servant in charge of the project's conception completes his presentation (DAU) and projects the transition to the next activity by looking at the facilitator. The facilitator introduces the participation of members of the public by suggesting a moment of "écoute"/"listening" (5) and verbally and gesturally encourages contributions that respond to what has been said beforehand. In this way, the facilitator defines and constrains how citizens should

comment and raise issues. The "reactions" of the public are characterized as not requiring any "réponses"/"answers," indicating that possible suggestions will be acknowledged without the political representative having the obligation to produce a formal response.

Members of the public are also instructed on how they should seek to secure an opportunity to contribute, that is, to raise their hands, use the microphone, and keep their contributions relatively short. In this way, the facilitator seeks to have participants take some responsibility for enabling those with an interest to contribute to the proceedings.

Haccin (HAC) raises her hand (12), then lowers it and raises it again as the facilitator's turn projects completion (13). She orients to the next possible transition point and the potential relevance and visibility of her attempt to seek the floor. The facilitator notices her second attempt and selects her (14–15), first by pointing toward her (Figure 1.1) and then referring to her in his turn. It occasions a reformulation of the instructions. Haccin finally speaks and complies with the facilitator's suggestions (18).

In this way, the facilitator both encourages participation and constrains the form of contribution, the character of the turn available to citizens. The values of participatory democracy are organized and exhibited by virtue of the ways in which the facilitator encourages and constrains contributions from members of the public.

We would like to characterize the actions through which the facilitator and indeed the auctioneer provide an opportunity for those present to contribute to the proceedings as an invitation. In conversation analysis, studies have focused on invitations as actions providing the opportunity for others to join and "participate in future sociable occasions" (Drew 1984; Margutti et al. 2018:52). Data

## Fragment 1

1 DAU: **voilà, (0.3) pour dire sans être trop: longuement ma philosophie**  
*right (0.3) to say without being too lengthy my philosophy*  
 2 **du projet**  
*of the project*  
 3 **(0.2)**  
 4 FAC: **d'accord. alors maintenant on va se mettre en situation**  
*alright, so now we will put ourselves in a situation*  
 5 **d'écoute, +(0.9) et puis (0.9) c'est vous que on écoute**  
*of listening (0.9) and then (0.9) it's you who we listen to*  
 fac +turns to AUD->  
 6 **maintenant. (.) les réactions si vous voulez, monsieur: euh daumat**  
*now (.) the reactions if you want, mister ehm Daumat*  
 ->+turns to DAU->  
 7 **a bien cadré hein les choses, + vous avez vu le film: (0.3) alors**  
*has framed well the things, you have seen the film (0.3) so*  
 ->+twd AUD->  
 8 **on vous écoute là, des réactions, + vous n'aurez pas forcément**  
*we listen here, some reactions, you will not always get*  
 ->+twd DAU->  
 9 **d réponses hein, %puisqu'on est là effectivement +pour entendre**  
*a response right, since we are here actually to listen*  
 %opens both arms-----%  
 dau ->+twd AUD-->  
 fac  
 10 **vos réactions. % (0.2) deux micros (.) la règle vous faites un**  
*your reactions (0.2) two mics (.) the rule you do a*  
 fac %opens both arms->  
 11 **p'tit signe, % (.) et puis on vous passe le micro: si vous avez une**  
*small sign (.) and then we pass you the mic if you keep a*  
 12 **intervention relativement brève: ve, y a plein d'gens qui**  
*contribution relatively short, plenty of people*  
 fac ->%  
 hac \*raises hand-----\*  
 13 **pourront parler.**  
*will be able to talk*  
 hac \*raises hand->  
 14 **(0.3) + (0.7) #**  
 fac +points at CHA->  
 fig #fig.1.1

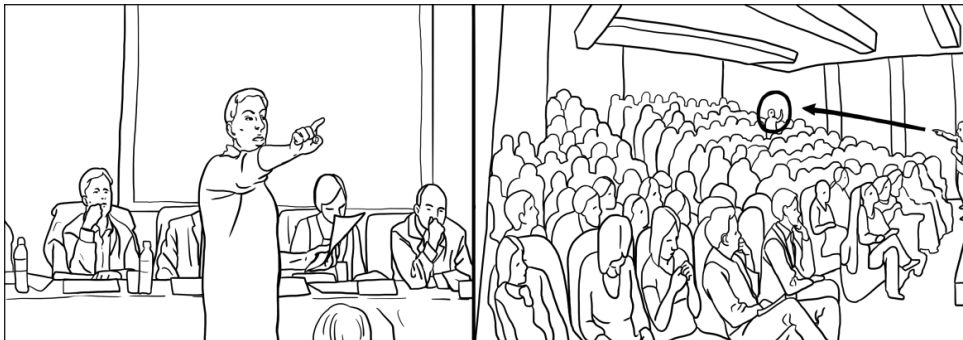


fig. 1.1 - FAC points at HAC (circled) just after she raises her hand.

15 FAC: **alors, madame allez. madame voilà. chaque fois\* si vous**  
*so, madam, go, madam right. each time if you*  
 fac ->+  
 mic *gives mic to CHA*  
 hac ->+\*  
 16 **voulez, + alors montrez-vous bien hein. + voilà. madame merci**  
*want, so make yourself visible right, good, madam thanks*  
 fac +raises hand-----+  
 17 **d vous présenter.=**  
*for presenting yourself.=*  
 18 HAC: **=°d'accord°. bonsoir, aline haccin du quartier, ((cont.))**  
*=°okay°. good evening, Aline Haccin from the district ((cont.))*



### Fragment 2

- 1 FAC: *est-ce qu'y a d'autres^élémen:ts, qu`vous souhaitez*  
*are there other elements, that you would like*  
 2 *là: (.) voir précisés par >rapport à cette représentation*  
*there: (.) to be specified >relatively to this historical*  
 3 *historique,< (.) madame?*  
*representation< (.) ma'am?*

### Fragment 3

- 1 FAC: *voilà, euh d- on prend encore euh (1.0) deux deux questions?*  
*right, ehm t- we still take ehm (1.0) two two questions?*  
 2 *(1.0)*  
 3 FAC: *qui:: (0.7) qui intervient d'abord?*  
*who:: (0.7) who contributes first?*

### Fragment 4

- 1 FAC: *autre intervention:?*  
*other contribuTION:?*

largely consist of recordings of telephone conversations and conversations between friends. An important distinction is the difference between invitations that spontaneously emerge in contrast to those that are more planned and formal (see the special issue introduced by Margutti et al. 2018). By contrast, in the materials considered in this paper, invitations are embedded in a very different praxeological context. They do not target future social events but rather an immediate next action and provide an open opportunity for a class of participants to respond and with dispatch. These invitations are embedded within and consequential to the organization of participation in the ongoing interaction, and in consequence, they have immediate impact on the development of the activity and in particular enable those who respond to the invitation to secure, at least in some cases, the opportunity to participate. Invitations to participate in the proceedings in public consultations and auctions are intimately linked to the management of turns and next-actions. They are consequential to emergence of the activity at hand. It is

worthwhile adding that we find vernacular use of the word *invitation* applied to the ways in which facilitators and auctions provide opportunities for participants to contribute to the proceedings.

In public consultations, subsequent invitations to contribute to the proceedings are less elaborate and do not necessarily (re)specify the instructions that serve to frame the contributions expected from participants. Consider Fragments 2, 3, and 4, from different meetings in which the facilitator solicits the citizens' participation, whether in the form of inquiries or suggestions.

These turns display routine characteristics. They invite citizens to address some specific matter that has arisen within a series of contributions related to some more general issue and discussion. They frequently include a number of perturbations and in some cases extensions that, as we will see, serve to encourage and enable contributions from the floor.

### *Opportunities to bid at auction*

In contrast, the opportunity to contribute to proceedings at auctions are surprisingly economic and elliptical. They arise

**Fragment 5.**

1	A:	Forty five thousand
2		(0.2) [B.1]
3	A:	Forty eight thousand
4		[B.2]
5	A:	Fifty thousand
6		(0.2) [B.1]
7	A:	Fifty five thousand
8	→	(0.5) [B.2 declines to bid]
9	→	A: At fifty <u>five:</u> thousand.
10		<u>Standing</u> at fifty five thousand
11	→	[B.3: raises hand]
12	A:	Sixty thousand
13	A:	(0.2) [B.1]
14	A:	Sixty five thousand
15	A:	(0.3) [B.3]
16	A:	<u>Seventy</u> thousand

in numerous locations within the sale of a particular lot (Heath 2013). First and foremost at the beginning of the sale of a particular lot, an auctioneer will announce the lot number, provide a brief description of the merchandise, and state the opening price, for example, “Lot Forty Five:: the Ludovico Carracci (5.5) Five hundred and fifty thousand pounds (.) to open it.” If the auctioneer is successful in securing willing participants, he escalates the price through a series of increasing prices, standard increments, juxtaposing the bids of potential buyers.

The increments project a series of turns, and potential buyers bid at the projected next increment. When one of those bidders declines the opportunity to bid, the auctioneer will seek bids from any other interested party. He will continue to escalate the bidding until one potential buyer remains. The lot is then sold to the highest bidder on the strike of the hammer or gavel if they have reached their reserve, that is, the lowest price that the vendor is willing to accept for the goods in question (Heath 2013). During the sale of a particular lot, therefore, potential buyers will be provided with

numerous opportunities to participate in the bidding, albeit at different prices or increments. In this article, we primarily focus on the opportunities that arise during the course of the sale of a particular lot once bidding for the merchandise has begun.

Consider Fragment 5. It is drawn from a sale of contemporary art in New York. The auctioneer announces each bid by stating the current price. Bids from potential buyers in the sale room are represented by “B.1, B.2., B.3” and so on, in the order in which the participant first enters the bidding. Bidding for the lot began at \$43,000. The bidding alternates between two potential buyers, B1 and B2, until B2 declines to bid the projected next increment, \$60,000. At that place, the auctioneer seeks contributions from other potential buyers.

“At fifty five: thousand.” stands in marked contrast to the announcement of the previous bids. It is produced following a small delay and repeats rather than advances the current price. It is prefaced by the preposition *at*. The utterance serves to display to all those present that bidding has ceased to advance, that

is, one among the two alternating bidders (B.1 and B.2) has declined to bid the projected next increment, namely \$60,000. "At fifty five thousand." is accompanied by the auctioneer undertaking a search of the sale room to discover who might be willing to enter the bidding. In this case, the auctioneer expands the opportunity to bid, adding "Standing at fifty five." He attributes the current price to B.1 while the search is in progress. Toward the end of the turn, B.3 raises his hand.

In auctions, as with public consultations, a bid for the floor is produced through gesture or some other form of bodily conduct. The movement gains its significance by virtue of its position within the emerging proceedings and in particular, its sequential juxtaposition with the turn(s) through which the auctioneer seeks further bids. The buyer, or potential buyer, "self-selects" in response to the actions of the auctioneer, and the auctioneer's actions serve to invite and enable participation from any willing participant. The sequence through which participants are provided with the opportunity to contribute to proceedings, though economic and elliptical, is not unlike those initiated by facilitators in public consultations.

Unlike public consultations, however, if accepted, the potential buyer's embodied action also serves as a bid, that is, it constitutes a turn. It advances the price by one increment. In Fragment 5, the auctioneer's "sixty thousand" is responsive to the potential buyer B.3 raising his hand; it announces the bid, advancing the price of the lot by \$5,000. The auctioneer then returns to B.1 to invite a further bid at the projected next increment, \$65,000, and so on.

Similarly, consider the following two fragments (Fragments 6 and 7), the first drawn from a provincial sale of antique furniture in England, the second an "important" auction of Old Master

paintings in London; we find that the invitation to bid is produced through repeating the current price of the lot. The repetition is preceded by a pause and prefaced by the word *at*. In both cases, the invitation serves to secure a contribution from a new bidder and advances the price by one increment in the first instance.

In auctions, the acceptance of a bid serves to establish the new bidder as a second participant within an alternating sequence of actions. In Fragment 5, for example, in securing a bid from B.3, the auctioneer immediately secures a contribution from B.1 and then returns to B.3, secures a further bid, and so on. The auctioneer establishes an alternating sequence of successive bids from two bidders that excludes other potential participants until one of the two protagonists declines to bid. On the issue of each bid, the auctioneer announces the increment and turns toward the under-bidder, inviting a further contribution at the projected next increment. In other words, in seeking a new bidder, the auctioneer produces an open invitation for any participant to bid, and having secured a bid from a particular participant, the auctioneer invites further contributions from that particular buyer until he withdraws from the bidding or secures the goods in question.

At its most basic, therefore, the organization of bids or turns at auction rests on the principle of securing two and no more than two bidders at any one time. The ordering principle is known colloquially as the *run*. It enables the auctioneer to alternate bidding between two principal protagonists and invite successive contributions at prices projected through the use of a standard incremental or price structure. Establishing bidding between two and no more bidders at any one time serves to localize the opportunity for new potential buyers to enter the bidding that is to participate in bidding for the lot. The opportunity for new bidders to enter

**Fragment 6.**

1.           A:       Fi:ve
2.                   (0.3) [B.1 declines to bid]
3.   →   A:       >At eighty five on my right,
4.                   anybody else?
5.                   [B.3: raises hand]
6.           A:       Ninety (0.6) [B.2] Fi:ve

**Fragment 7.**

1.           A:       One hundred an eighty thousand
2.                   (0.6) [B.3]
3.           A:       One hundred an ninety thousand
4.                   (1.2) [B.4 shakes head]
5.   →   A:       At one hundred an ninety thousand pounds
6.                   (0.4) [B.5: waves bidding number]
7.           A:       Two hundred thousand pounds.

the bidding only arises when one of two potential buyers declines to bid the next increment. At that place, the auctioneer invites and undertakes a search for a new bidder to join the action.

In other words, in auctions and, as we will see in rather different form, for public consultations, we find two distinct forms of invitation that enable and structure participation in the activity. One is an open invitation in which anyone present can display willingness to be selected and bid, and the other is a recipient-specific invitation that arises following the issue of a successful bid, in which a particular (potential) buyer is invited to bid the projected next increment.

The *localization* of participant transfer, coupled with the principle of two and no more than two bidders at any time, resolves the potential problem of managing multiple, simultaneous contributions. It enables an extraordinary economy of action. It establishes, albeit temporarily, competition between two principal protagonists, each of whom is provided with successive opportunities to bid against each other. In contrast to

receiving contributions from multiple participants that could well lead to confusion, the run enables all those present to determine who is bidding, at what point, and at what price. It enables the price of goods to be systematically and transparently escalated through a series of rapidly alternating sequences of action that allows the simplest of turns, head nods, gestures, and the like to contribute to the valuation and exchange of goods.

Both auctions and public consultations rely on procedures through which members of the public are provided with an opportunity to contribute to the proceedings. They resolve the problem of competing simultaneous contributions by establishing one speaker or at least one principal participant at any one time and thereby enable a single focus of mutual engagement to be preserved throughout the proceedings. They provide the resources through which numerous participants are able to contribute to the proceedings in an orderly, open, and systematic fashion. These resources rely on a transformation of the turn-taking organization of talk for conversation and

enable the contingent issue of contributions by any interested and willing participant during the course of the proceedings (see Sacks et al. 1974). In particular, they rest on a combination of two procedures of turn allocation, namely, "current speaker selects next" and "next speaker self-selects." The open invitations to contribute to the proceedings, provided through characteristic utterances and their accompanying embodied conduct, create opportunities for those present to contribute while the responsibility for allocating that opportunity remains with the facilitator or auctioneer. In various ways, these invitations frame the form of contribution required at that moment within the developing course of the proceedings. Participant transfer is managed in a systematic and open fashion and serves to preserve the topical and progressive coherence of the proceedings.

### MANAGING MULTIPLE RESPONSES

In both public consultations and auctions, participants respond to the invitation to contribute to the proceedings by raising their hand or through other embodied action such as waving or raising a catalogue or program. The bodily action is designed to gain notice while deferring to the facilitator or the auctioneer to select the next participant to contribute to the proceedings. It also enables all those present not only to see who, among many, might be seeking an opportunity to contribute but to witness how and why the floor is given to a particular individual(s). In both public consultations and auctions, the open invitation to contribute to the proceedings rests on the principle that no preference or favor should be shown to particular individuals or groups.

The invitation for any participant to contribute to the proceedings raises a problem in its own right, that is, more than one individual may seek to speak

or bid. How the facilitator or auctioneer manages multiple responses to an invitation is critical to preserving a single focus of mutual attention or engagement while enabling any willing or interested participant to contribute to the proceedings in a fair and open manner.

In the following fragment (Fragment 8), more than one potential buyer seeks to bid in response to the auctioneer's invitation. The auctioneer has begun the sale of the lot, a picture by Warhol, by establishing a run between a buyer who left a commission with the auction house and a sale assistant, SA.1, bidding on behalf of a participant over the telephone. The sale assistant declines to bid the projected next increment, \$380,000, and the auctioneer produces an invitation to bid.

The invitation serves to secure bids from two sale assistants, SA.2 and SA.3. SA.2 begins to raise her hand in advance of SA.3. The auctioneer accepts the bid and announces the next increment, namely, \$380,000, on behalf of SA.2. The auctioneer accepts the first bid she receives and disregards the other. The principle *first come, first served* underpins the orderly transition of participants within the bidding and identifies one, among many, as the next bidder. In turn, it establishes the opportunity for that particular buyer to contribute a series of successive bids, constituting a new run between the two potential buyers.

### ***Enabling multiple contributions at public consultations***

In auctions, potential buyers are provided with numerous opportunities to enter the bidding when a current participant declines to bid the next increment, albeit at different prices or increments. In contrast, in public consultations, once a particular matter has been raised and discussed, there is little guarantee that an

**Fragment 8.**

1   ➔   A:       \*hh >At \*three (.) hundred an fifty thousand dollars now my  
2               commission still  
3   ➔       (.) [SA.2] [SA.3]  
4       A:       <Three hundred an eighty thousand ahead of us, here now, three  
5       A:       eighty commission's out.  
6       A:       At three hundred an eighty thousand against your bidder, against you  
7               Robert.  
8       A:       At three hundred an eighty thousand [SA.3]. Four hundred thousand  
9               now.

opportunity will arise to return to the matter in question. In consequence, the facilitator encourages a number of participants to contribute to the discussion and seeks to establish an orderly and transparent order of potential “next” speakers. In Fragment 9, we join the action as Bouchard is finishing his contribution, suggesting that it's important to consider the relations between the park and the nearby university for the general functioning of the neighborhood (line 1). This is acknowledged by the facilitator (line 3) before he invites the audience for further contributions (line 5):

The facilitator acknowledges the prior turn and invites further comments. With “est-ce qu'y a d'autres£: (0.9) \$>zéléments<?” (line 6), two members of the audience (Adrien [ADR] and Marchal [MAR]) raise their hands to speak (£ and \$). Rather than simply accept the first and disregard the other, the facilitator acknowledges both participants and invites one, namely, Adrien (by pointing at him, line 6), to speak first (Figure 9.1).

In contrast to auctions, where one among many is selected to participate at that moment, in public consultations, the facilitator creates a queue of participants or next speakers. The queue serves to project both to the potential speakers

as well as all those present that on the completion of one contribution, others who have bid for the floor will have the opportunity to comment on the matter at hand. In principle, the queue allocates equivalent turns to each of the speakers, and the order of queue reflects the order in which potential participants bid for the floor. The facilitator manages the transition between speakers by successively allocating the floor to each in turn, that is, inviting specific individuals to issue their contribution in an ordered and systematic manner.

The queue is managed by the facilitator in such a way as to maximize its visibility both for the candidates concerned and the audience. It displays publicly when the window of possibility is closed. In fragment 9, a third person, Latour (LAT), bids to speak after the queue has been organized (11). He quickly withdraws his hand, having missed the opportunity.

The visibility of the queue also enables the person holding the microphone to know to whom it should be passed and in what order. In this way, the facilitator deploys an organizational arrangement that efficiently allocates a distribution of turns and turn transfer and provides a fair and even distribution of opportunities to those who wish to contribute.

### Fragment 9.

1 BOU et puis >pour le fonctionnement du quartier,<  
and also >for the functioning of the district,<  
2 (1.0)  
3 FAC d'accord.  
okay.  
4 (1.5)  
5 FAC oké? >ça c'est un peu comme l'étude demandée< par EUH (.)  
okay? >this is a bit like the study requested< by EH (.)  
6 ➔madame, •est-ce qu'y a d'autres? # (0.9) \$>zé•lé#ments<?  
madam, are there any other: (0.9) >relements<?  
•circular pointing-----•points ADR->  
adr → fraises hand->  
mar → \$raises hand->  
fig #fig.9.1  
7 mfon\$•ieur,\$• et monsie•ur, puis après j`vous propose p`t-être  
sir, and sir, and then I propose for you maybe  
->•,....•points at MAR•  
adr ->f  
mar ->\$,.,.,.,\$



fig. 9.1. - FAC points at ADR who has pre-selected, raising his hand just before MAR.

8 d'avancer un p'tit peu sur les (0.3) données historiques,  
to progress on a bit about the (0.3) historical facts,  
9 ça relancera un peu la discu+ssion?+  
this will launch a bit the discussion?  
mic +gives mic+  
10 (0.2)  
11 FAC monsieur, & >merci d`vous présente:r,<&  
sir, >thanks for introducing yourself  
lat → &raises hand-----andlowers&  
12 ADR °adrien eh:° °°( )°°=

Both public consultations and auctions, like other events in which numerous potential participants may wish to contribute, rely on an interactional organization that establishes the one speaker or at least one principal participant to contribute at any one time (Sacks et al. 1974). It enables participants to preserve a principal sequence of talk and action, a single focus of mutual attention and alignment. The organization resolves the potential problems of numerous individuals seeking to participate at the same time and avoids the fragmentation and incoherence that might arise. This organization is exercised through the conduct of both facilitator or auctioneer with the cooperation of participants. It limits the opportunities for individuals to contribute to the proceedings and provides the resources to enable the systematic transfer and allocation of turns. It formalizes the transfer and distribution of turns and places the responsibility for its deployment and management in the hands of a particular individual. It enables all those present to see and witness that the proceedings are conducted in a fair, transparent, and orderly fashion.

#### **SEARCHING FOR CONTRIBUTIONS: THE REFLEXIVE CHARACTER OF INVITATIONS AND THEIR RESPONSES**

Bids and bids for the floor are responsive to the invitation provided by the auctioneer or the facilitator. They arise in and are recognized by virtue of the sequentially relevant position in which they are produced—immediately following an invitation, an invitation that stands in marked contrast to the previous sequence(s) of action. The raising of hands and other embodied actions that seek to secure the floor are shaped with regard to the invitation and accompanying search for participants, just as the search and invitation are reflexively shaped with

regard to the emergence of particular responses or, in some cases, the absence of response. Indeed, the search that accompanies the invitation is critical to both recognizing the emerging opportunity to contribute to the proceedings and issuing potential contributions.

Consider Fragment 10 drawn from an auction of antiquities in London. With “At six hundred and fifty,” two potential buyers attempt to bid at different positions within the production of the invitation. In both cases, the potential buyer raises their bidder number to produce a bid. The arrows indicate the onset of the gesture during the invitation that constitutes the bid or at least an attempt to secure it.

On producing “Six hundred and fifty pounds” (line 1.), the auctioneer turns toward the right-hand side of the room. On producing “At six hundred,” the auctioneer turns from the right (Figure 10.1), to the near center (Figure 10.2), and then to the left of the sale room, looking for potential buyers. As the auctioneer’s orientation nears B.1, B.1 raises his bidder number (Figure 10.3). A moment later, as the auctioneer’s orientation nears B.2, B.2 bids (Figure 10.4). In both cases, the production of the bid is sensitive to the emerging orientation of the auctioneer. It anticipates just when the bid will become visible and noticeable to the auctioneer. The bid is *prospectively* oriented with regard to the temporal and spatial organization of the auctioneer’s emerging orientation, his search for contributions.

The position of a bid, the sequentially relevant response to the invitation, is highly variable. It is sensitive to the structure of the invitation and organization of the auctioneer’s search for a new bidder. A bid may emerge during the production of an invitation, even at its onset, or arise following its completion. In Fragment 11, drawn from a sale of





**Fragment 11**

1        A:        Eight hundred (0.3) I'm out (.) It's there on the phone  
 2                   with Ami now  
 3                   (0.4)  
 4        → A:        At eight hundred (.) thousand dollars  
 5                   (0.5)  
 6        A:        Is there any advance  
 7        →            [B.2]  
 8        A:        Nine: hundred thousand  
 9                   (1.6)  
 10       A:        Lady's bid  
 11                   [SA.1]  
 12       A:        One million dollars:

**Fragment 11. Transcript 2 (lines 3-7)**

Fig. 11.1



Fig. 11.2



Fig. 11.3

Far right	Centre right	Far Left	Rear Centre
↓	↓	↓	
A:    At eight hundred (.) thousand dollar ----- Is there			
		↑ [B.2]	

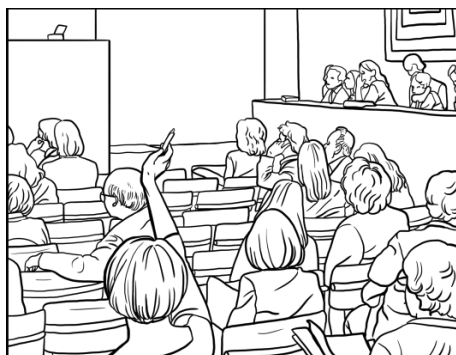


Fig. 11.4

is forthcoming. She then extends the invitation and the search. She adds "Is there any advance" and turning back to the left, begins a more extensive search of the rear of the room again, going from the right- to the left-hand side. A potential buyer toward the rear center of the room raises her hand.

In both cases, the production of the bids is occasioned by the invitation. They are positioned with regard to the announcement of the current increment, its sequential import for next turn, and the visible orientation and bodily comportment of the auctioneer. In bidding with regard to the emerging alignment of the auctioneer's orientation, the participant maximizes the possibility of the bid being noticed, that is, both rendering the action visible and securing its sequential import.

While in principle the distribution or allocation of competitive next turns is determined by first come, first served, in practice, the bid that gains interactional significance is the action that is first noticed rather than necessarily first issued. The organization of the auctioneer's search is highly consequential to who, out of many, secures the opportunity to have a bid accepted at that price and receive successive opportunities to bid against a particular protagonist. The production of the bid is both sensitive to the orientation of the auctioneer and the emerging trajectory of the search. The pace and direction of the search provides resources to enable potential bidders to anticipate or seek to anticipate just when a contribution might be noticed and prospectively begin a gesture or other form of movement so that it coincides with the emerging orientation of the auctioneer.

In both instances, the expansion of the invitation and the opportunities it affords for a contribution orients to the absence of an initial response. In other words, the

auctioneer adds additional components to the initial invitation in the course of searching for contributions. In both these cases, the search proves successful by virtue of the ways in which it "eventually" orients toward and secures a potential buyer. The embodied character of the invitation and the ways in which the search for new bidders is undertaken is critical to securing contributions and effectiveness of the invitation.

### ***Seeking multiple contributions at public consultations***

Parallel issues arise in public consultations and the ways in which bids for the floor are sensitive to the emerging structure of the invitation and the accompanying search for potential participants. Unlike auctions, a facilitator may seek to maximize the opportunity for a number of individuals to contribute, displaying to all those present that they can effectively participate at this juncture in the proceedings. Members of the audience are aware of and sensitive to the likelihood there will be a number of people who wish to speak in response to some matter and that a bid for the floor, if successful, does not necessarily provide the opportunity to speak at that moment or speak first with regard to that invitation.

In Fragment 12, from a participatory consultation, the facilitator prefigures the invitation with remarks that seek to frame the topics to discuss—concerning the conditions of the progressive opening of the public park before the construction work is totally completed—and project the invitation proper.

Two members of the audience raise their hands in response to the invitation, namely, Suard (line 6), sitting in the center, and Charvet, sitting on the right-hand side of the room (line 8). Their bids for the floor arise at very different positions within the facilitator's invitation(s).

## Fragment 12

- 1 **FAC:** ((claps w his hands)) b\*ien voilà, donc sur ces éléme\*nts là,  
*good that's it, so about these elements*  
*\*stands up, both arms open---*
- 2 on peut s'prendre un petit temps d'échange, sur euh: (0.3)  
*we can take a bit of time to exchange, about ehm: (0.3)*
- 3 on a évoqué euh• (0.2) \*le ( ) \*on\* évoque l'ouverture euh (0.4)  
*we have evoked eh (0.2) the ( ) we evoke the opening uh (0.4)*  
*•looks at previous official speaker-->*  
*\*gest w 2H twd off\*,,\**
- 4 antici\*p\*ée, la démolit#ion est-ce qu'il y a là• des\* (0.4)#(0.3)  
*anticipated, the demolition are there now some (0.7)*  
*->•looks at the center-----•at his L->*  
*\*opens both H-----\**
- fig #fig.12.1 fig.12.2#



Fig. 12.1



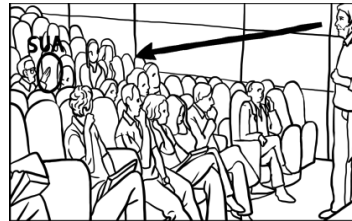
Fig.12.2



Fig. 12.3



Fig.12.4A = Fig.12.4B



- 5 ques•tions particulières? des •demandes• de pre#cision?•  
*particular questions? some requests for details?*  
*-->•center-----•,,,,,....•at R-----•center->*
- fig #fig.12.3
- 6 (0.4) + (0.3) #  
 sua → +raises hand-->  
 fig #fig.12.4A/B
- 7 **FAC:** que \*vous souhaiteriez\* avo+ir? +\*  
*that you wish to have?*  
*\*.....\*points at SUA\*,,->*  
 sua -->+lowers+
- 8 Øon °pa%ssera\* l'•mi#cro° surØ monsieur,  
*we will give the mic to mister,*  
 Østeps twd center/SUA-----Ø  
 --->\*
- >•looks on his R/at CHA-->
- cha → °raises hand-----°  
 micM %walks twd center/SUA-->  
 fig #fig.12.5A/B
- 9 \*puis madame apr\*%ès \*%•  
*then Mrs. afterwards*  
*\*points at CHA--\*,,-\**  
 -->•looks center/at SUA-->
- micM -->%gives mic%
- 10 (2.2)

11 SUA: °benoît suard >président de l'adpb< moi juis très inquiet là  
*Benoit Suard president of the ADPB I am very worried there*



fig. 12.5A/B. PRE walks towards SUA (in the center) while gazing at CHA (on the R)

Suard's bid is issued within the pause (line 6) following the second part of the invitation, whereas Charvet raises her hand after a further expansion of the invitation ("que vous souhaiteriez avoir?"/ "that you wish to have?"; line 7). The position of the bids is sensitive to the organization of the search that accompanies the invitation(s), which shapes the incremental formatting of the turn.

Expanding the turn enables the facilitator to look alternately to the front, the left, the front, the right, and the front again (lines 4–6; see Figures 12.1–12.4A/B). As the facilitator's orientation nears Suard, the latter raises his hand; the bid is positioned to maximize the possibility of it being noticed by the facilitator. The bid is sensitive to the pace and trajectory of the facilitator's shifting orientation and anticipates just when the facilitator will be looking toward the area of the room where Suard is seated. Similarly, Charvet raises her hand and secures an opportunity to speak by virtue of orienting to the emerging trajectory of the facilitator's continuing search; she anticipates just when the bid is likely to be noticed (Figure 12.5A/B).

Bids for the floor are differentially positioned with regard to the conduct of the facilitator that both accompanies and constitutes the invitation and its

expansion. The two participants successively secure a next turn by virtue of their sensitivity to the emerging structure of the search.

Unlike the auction, the facilitator, having found a participant willing to take the next turn, does not abandon the search and invitation to speak. In Fragment 12, despite Suard raising his hand, the facilitator expands the invitation for a member of the audience to contribute ("que vous souhaiteriez avoir?"; 7) and continues to search the room for other possible contributions. Rather than disregarding the bid to speak, he points, enabling Suard and all those present, to see that there is a next speaker while preserving the opportunity for others to bid to address the matter at hand.

In this way, the facilitator creates successive opportunities for members of the audience to speak next and by virtue of the order in which they bid establishes a sequential arrangement through which particular participants have the opportunity and the right to speak. The format of the invitation and its associated search foreshadows and establishes a transparent arrangement through which particular individuals have an opportunity to contribute, differentiated only by virtue of the successive order of turns.

**Fragment 13**

- 1    ➔    A:       Ahead of you now. At three hundred and eighty thousand  
 2                    (0.2)  
 3            A:       It's not yours  
 4                    (.)  
 5    ➔    A:       At three, (.) hundred an eighty, (.) thousand dollars  
 6    ➔                (1.2) [B.1]  
 7            A:       Four hundred (.) in a new place now, on the aisle.

The invitations issued by facilitators for members of the audience to speak stand in marked contrast to the invitations that potential buyers receive to bid. Whereas in auctions we find a simple repetition of an increment prefaced by the word *at*, followed, if necessary, by a further repetition of the increment, in public consultations, facilitators produce multi-unit turns that are incrementally expanded and often contain successive invitations, foreshadowed by a summary or framing statement that points to the matters that might be addressed. In this way, the facilitator seeks to secure multiple contributions to the discussion of the particular matter at hand.

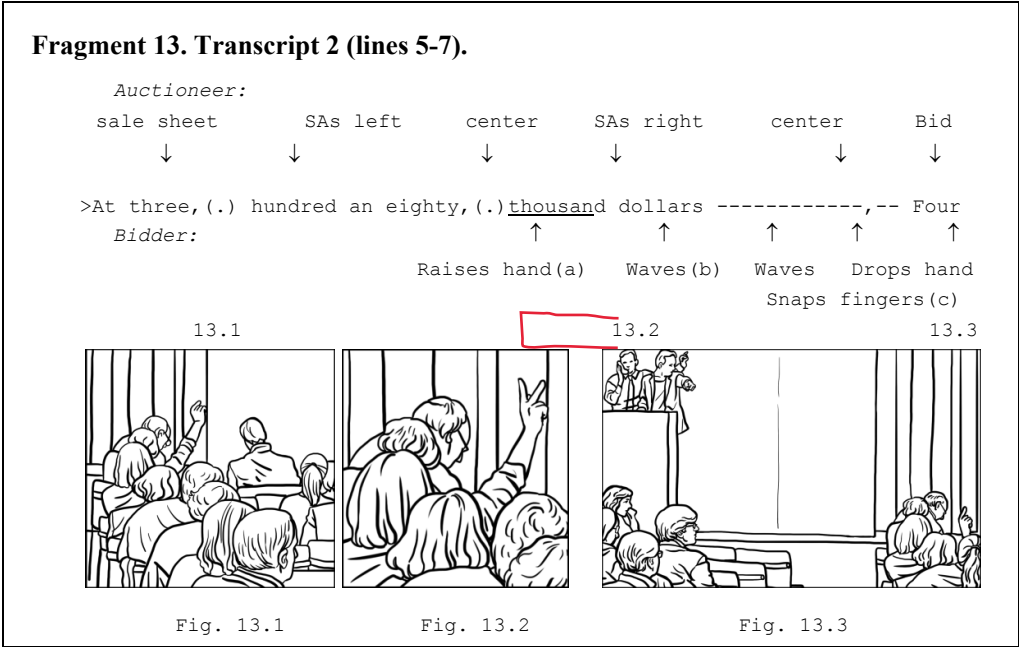
### **SECURING AN OPPORTUNITY TO CONTRIBUTE**

Both in auctions and public consultations, there are limited opportunities to contribute to the proceedings. At auction, participants may well have to compete to secure an opportunity to bid at a particular price, and notwithstanding the commitment to maximizing participation at public consultations, limited time and resources may well lead to the necessity to curtail the number of contributions on a particular topic or issue. The design of a bid for the floor is critical for its recognition and acknowledgment by the auctioneer or facilitator. Securing a bid's notice within

complex multiparty ecologies may not be unproblematic.

It is worthwhile to compare two different cases. In Fragment 10, we found that B.1 raised his bidder number as the auctioneer turned from the right to the center of the sale room. The raised hand coincided with the arrival of the auctioneer's orientation toward the area of the room in which B.1 was seated. The contribution was successful; it was noticed by the auctioneer and secures the bid. In contrast, consider Fragment 13. It involves the sale of a picture by Cecily Brown. We join the action following an extended run involving a sale assistant representing a remote buyer over the phone and the auctioneer issuing bids on behalf of a commission. The remote buyer declines the opportunity to bid the projected next increment, \$400,000. "Ahead of you now" and "it's not yours" is addressed to the sale assistant and by association her buyer, who has declined to bid the projected next increment.

"At three hundred and eighty thousand," the auctioneer begins to look for a new potential buyer to participate. She looks to the center and then to the left and produces "It's not yours" and reiterates the invitation ">At three, (.) hundred an eighty, (.) thousand dollars." The re-invitation follows seemingly previous opportunities to bid occasioned by the



```

1  FAC: oké, *(.) est-ce qu'il y a d'a+utres::,* >sur ce*tte  

   okay, (.) are there any other::, >on this  

   *opens arms-----*  

   *looks on his right-----*in front->  

   bau >>looks down-----+looks up---->  

2  piste<-là, qu'tout soit bien *cl+air, (0.4)*+ >dans l'esprit+  

   idea< here, is everything clear, (0.4) in the mind  

   ->*,,,,,,,,,,,,,,*looks on his L-->  

   bau → -->+,,,,,,,,,,,,+raises H slowly->  

3  +de tout un+ chacun,<* (.) maød+a'me?*+ø  

   of everybody,< (.) ma'am?  

   -->*looks L and points at BAU*  

   østeps twd BAUø  

   bau → +up faster-+holds H-----+,,,,,+  

   mic %walks twd BAU->  

4  (7) % (1.7) %  

   mic ->%gives mic to BAU%

```

facilitator is oriented toward the opposite side of the room. At a possible completion point (2), Baunin begins to raise her hand. The movement, the bid for the floor, appears not only sensitive to the emergent syntax of the developing utterance but also the shifting orientation of the facilitator from the right to the left of the room. More particularly, Baunin raises her arm slowly, adjusting to the pace and trajectory of the facilitator's shifting orientation. Then, as it nears her location, she produces a quicker, more exaggerated movement, successfully securing the notice of the facilitator. The facilitator adds a further increment ("*>dans l'esprit de tout un chacun<*" "*>in everybody's mind<*"; 8) and points toward her, acknowledging her bid while preserving the opportunity for others to declare an interest.

Likewise in Fragment 15, the facilitator invites contributions about the historical characteristics of the setting where a public park is planned. A member of the audience, Lemerrier (LEM), who at the beginning of the fragment is looking

At the beginning of the facilitator's invitation, Baunin is looking down. As the interrogative format of the invitation emerges, she looks up to find that the



## Fragment 15

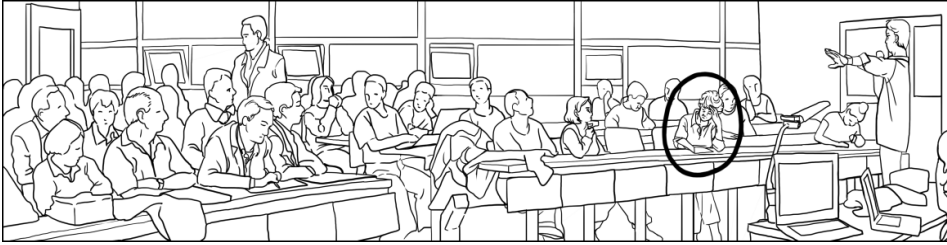


Fig. 15.1

- 1 **FAC:** #est-ce qu'y a d'autres^élémen#:ts,+ qu`vous souhai#tez là: +  
*are there other elements, that you would like there:*  
 fac >>looks in front/to the bottom of the room->  
 lem >>looks dwn at her notes-----+...closes notebook-----+  
 fig #fig.15.1 #fig.15.2 #fig.15.3



Fig. 15.2



Fig. 15.3



Fig. 15.4

- 2 **(.) +voir pr#éci#ser part# rapport# à >cette re#présenta#tion#.**  
*(.) to be specified relatively to >this historical*  
 fac -->•looks on his L-----•,,,,,•  
 lem → +.....+looks at FAC-->  
 lem ±raises hand-----±lowers a bit-----±  
 fig #fig.15.4
- 3 **•thi#stori#que,<# (.)± mada#me?\***  
*picture< (.) ma'am?*  
 fac •...looks on his R/LEM---->>  
 fac ->•points at LEM----\*,,,•hands over his mic->>  
 lem → ±raises hand again-±tends her hand twd mic--->>  
 fig #fig.15.5A/B



Fig. 15.5A/B - PRE points at LEM raising her hand

down at her notes (Figure 15.1), monitors the search of the facilitator and attempts two distinctive bids for the floor before securing the notice and acknowledgement.

The first attempt to secure the floor (Figures 15.2–15.4) is sensitive to the spoken incremental format of the turn itself, positioned with regard to an upcoming transition place (“est-ce qu’y a d’autres éléments, qu’vous souhaitez là:”; 1). The facilitator is oriented to the far left and fails to notice the raised hand in front of him. Lemercier withdraws, lowering her hand. As the facilitator reorients, turning from the left- to the right-hand side of the room, she once again raises her hand and successfully secures his notice. The facilitator acknowledges the bid, pointing at Lemercier (Figure 15.5). The successful attempt to secure the floor arises by virtue of the participant’s ability to anticipate just when a particular movement will be noticeable or potentially noticeable. Interestingly, the earlier attempt may not only serve to display, both to the facilitator and all those present, that Lemercier is keen to secure the floor but also that she is orienting to the first opportunity to bid—which if successful, could secure her first position within a queued series of contributions. So on the one hand, bids for the floor might be delayed to maximize their chance of being noticed, and on the other, the evolving structure of an invitation and the possibility of eliciting multiple competing contributions can encourage early, even premature, attempts to secure acknowledgement from the facilitator.

In both settings, the open invitation to contribute to the proceedings creates a sequential environment in which an opportunity is transparently offered to all participants to bid or bid for the floor to speak. To have the bid seen and acknowledged, the potential participant is sensitive to the evolving trajectory of the search that accompanies the

invitation, its progressive orientation, pace, alignment, and relationship to the gathering; the ecology—and even the concurrent actions of others within the room. Bids and bids for the floor are prospectively oriented with regard to the emerging and contingent trajectory of the search and can be transformed and reformed to secure the notice of the facilitator or auctioneer. Multiple attempts to bid or bid for the floor reveal the reflexive and emergent organization of the invitation and the ways in which responses are sensitive to its contingent development that in turn bear on its concerted accomplishment.

#### **DISCUSSION: TURN ORGANIZATION, TRANSPARENCY, AND FAIRNESS**

Turn organization has proved an important resource in the analysis of social institutions, powerfully demonstrating how the characteristics of specialized tasks and activities are accomplished in and through particular forms of interaction and turn-taking arrangement (Drew and Heritage 1992). The turn allocation component of the turn-taking machinery (Sacks et al. 1974) in particular has been critical in this regard. It has enabled the examination of a range of endogenous procedures that shape and reflexively constitute the organization of specialized forms of institutional activity. In this article, we have considered how particular forms of turn allocation and organization enable specific ways of orchestrating participation in larger groups and inform how particular institutions achieve routine, legitimate, and recognizable outcomes. In this regard, turn allocation is managed by reference to both organizational issues—ordering the participation and engagement of numerous individuals—and institutional issues—enabling the fair and transparent distribution of opportunities to contribute to the

proceedings. Embodied action or multimodality is critical to the activities' accomplishment, underpinning the structure of participation and enabling the concerted achievement of the goals of the particular institutions.

To enable the proceedings to emerge in an orderly and accessible manner, participation has to be managed in such a way as to avoid simultaneous contributions to the business at hand or the fragmentation of the event into multiple conversations. The turn-taking organization, that is, the production, allocation, and distribution of opportunities to contribute to the proceedings, relies on the facilitator or auctioneer issuing open invitations for any willing participant to speak or to bid, that is, for particular participants to select in response to the invitation. In turn, these open or initial invitations provide the resources with which to allocate the floor to particular individuals, one at a time, and indeed prefigure a series of sequentially relevant actions by particular participants. In the case of public consultations, these specific invitations are addressed in turn to those within the queue of those wishing to speak, whereas in auction, they are alternatively addressed to one of two bidders until they decline the opportunity to bid or secure the goods in question. The sequential organization that arises by virtue of these particular forms of invitation provides the foundation to orderly allocation and distribution of "turns" within public consultations and auctions.

Open invitations, and for that matter subsequent invitations, and their response are accomplished in and through the interdependencies of talk and embodied conduct in a visible, public, and transparent way. First and foremost, the open invitation to bid or bid for the floor is accomplished through embodied action. The invitation is accompanied by the facilitator or auctioneer looking for potential participants. The search not only provides

resources for potential participants to bid for and successfully secure the floor but informs the emergent production of the invitation. For example, additional components may successively extend the invitation to secure a willing participant or in case public consultations, enable a number of people to bid to contribute to the discussion. Second, in seeking to secure the floor, participants rarely vocalize their bid but rather produce a visible action, raising the hand or other form of gesture, that is designed to secure the notice of the facilitator or auctioneer and the opportunity to contribute to the proceedings. Bidding for the floor through gesture and other forms of bodily comportment enables multiple, simultaneous actions that avoid the confusion that might arise with numerous people calling for the floor at the same time. Third, acknowledgement of bids and bids for the floor are produced through both talk and embodied conduct. Indeed, looking at and pointing toward a particular participant(s), one among many within a large audience, both serves to enable the individual to know they have secured the attention of the facilitator or auctioneer and displays to all those gathered within the domain that a particular(s) individual has been granted the opportunity to contribute. In other words, both the production and the elicitation of turns is accomplished in and through multimodal action; interdependencies of talk and bodily conduct are critical to concerted accomplishment of turn organization in these complex institutional environments. They enable the concerted production of an interaction order that confers rights and responsibilities on particular individuals and displays that order and its practical accomplishment to all those present.

Notwithstanding their organizational differences, there are interesting parallels between public consultations and auctions, reflected and embodied within their specific turn-taking systems. The

procedures through which participants are provided with the opportunity to engage the event are designed to encourage and facilitate contributions from any willing person without showing favor or discrimination. In terms of the turn-taking system for conversation originally described by Sacks et al. (1974), they both rely on a combination of procedures for allocating and distributing turns within these particular institutional environments. On the one hand, in response to an invitation to contribute to the proceedings, participants “self-select,” but on the other, the opportunity to bid or to speak is dependent on the auctioneer or facilitator selecting the individual(s) in question. In this way, auctions and public consultations enable and encourage the participation of interested parties in the proceedings, participation that forms the very foundation to the transactions and recommendations that they secure. The procedures that create, allocate, and distribute opportunities to engage are designed and deployed to encourage and facilitate participation while managing, within the practical constraints at hand, the forms of engagement that arise. They enable the coherent and collaborative production of particular forms of institutional activity and simultaneously display to all those present that the activity was accomplished with regard to the proper principles of openness and transparency. In other words, the interactional organization of auctions and public consultations renders the process and the distribution of opportunities to participate transparent, not only done but seen to be done and there for all those to witness. The process is both witnessed and witness-able (Garfinkel 1967), and its public transparent performance reflexively enables the collaborative in situ accomplishment of the principle objectives and values of the institution.

In this sense, the paper addresses how the political, moral, economical principles of transparency and fairness, which characterize the institutional foundations of many organizations, are implemented in the situated detail of the organization of actions that are crucial for the existence of these institutions. Matters of trust, participation, democracy, equality, and the like have been discussed in a variety of institutional procedures (see e.g., Kosack and Fung 2014; Levy 2007; Sabagh 2007). The analysis of public consultations and auctions provides the opportunity to explore how principles of transparency and fairness are accomplished in and through forms of interactional organization and consider the ways in which large numbers of individuals are provided with opportunities to contribute to the proceedings in a coherent and ordered fashion. Most critically, we hope to have pointed to ways in which fundamental moral principles that underpin particular forms of institutional activity, be they political or economic, are accomplished and preserved in and through the details of embodied action and interaction.

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## BIOS

**Christian Heath** is a professor of work and organization at King's College London. He specializes in fine-grained, video-based studies of social interaction,

drawing on ethnomethodology and conversation analysis. His current research areas include health care, markets and economic transactions, and museums and the cultural industries. He is a Fellow of the Academy of the Social Sciences (FACSS). His publications include: *The Dynamics of Auction: Social Interaction and the Sale of Fine Art and Antiques*, *Video and Qualitative Research: Analysing Social Interaction in Everyday* (with Jon Hindmarsh and Paul Luff), and *Technology in Action* (with Paul Luff).

**Lorenza Mondada** is a professor for linguistics at the University of Basel. Her research deals with social interaction in

ordinary, professional, and institutional settings, within an ethnomethodological and conversation analytic perspective. Her focus is on video analysis and multimodality, researching how the situated and endogenous organization of social interaction draws on a diversity of multimodal resources, such as beside language, gesture, gaze, body posture, movements, object manipulations, as well as multisensorial practices such as touching, tasting, and seeing. She has extensively published in *Journal of Pragmatics*, *Discourse Studies*, *Language in Society*, *ROLSI*, and *Journal of Sociolinguistics* and coedited several books.